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Kentucky Union Railroad Co.

THE RAILROAD SPEECH

DELIVERED AT

THE MERCHANTS' EXCHANGE

IN FAVOR OF THE

BY TRANSFER

SEP 12 1910

Knoxville Route to the Gulf,

By W. M. CORRY,

SEPTEMBER 17, 1860.

CINCINNATI:

RAILROAD RECORD OFFICE:
1860.

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SEP 12 1910

TO THE PEOPLE OF CINCINNATI.

At the Cincinnati Merchants' Exchange two meetings of the citizens were held to hear the three addresses of the Cumberland Gap, Knoxville and Nashville railroad delegations. Another meeting took place on the 17th of September, 1860, at which Resolutions were offered by Pollock Wilson, setting forth the losses and perplexities of the city from want of direct railroad connection with the Gulf; but only proposing that a committee should be raised to go South, and examine and report upon the routes as early as possible. The Knoxville delegation had stated that they came to open connection with the Ohio Valley at Cincinnati first, and then to Louisville, and that if they did not get an immediate response here, they would go to Louisville, and if acceptable terms were offered for a connection with the Gulf, via Knoxville, they would close with them and go home at once.

Having heard the explanations made by all the delegates, I thought it best to move an amendment to the resolutions, in favor of the Knoxville route; more especially because it had positively been asserted that a charter already existed for the *Union Railway Company*, for which the Cincinnati Commissioners might open stock books, and with \$5,000 cash the Company elect officers and organize with capacity for five millions capital, and power to borrow money to build a railroad from Cincinnati to Tennessee in the direction of Knoxville. Both that charter and the charter of the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad authorized consolidation with each other, giving the continuous line from here there; and the Knoxville delegates pledged themselves to build their sixty miles of Road to their State boundary, leaving but eighty miles to build as far as Danville where the Covington road will terminate unless we contribute to it such part of the two millions expense as may be necessary. Thanks to the labors of railroad writers and engineers, the facts of the case are also made pretty plain, and besides, if the Union Company was organized, its surveyors and officers governed by the inexorable laws of self-interest, would select the best practicable route and construct the road on it, no matter what a committee of citizens might report. It is further true that such a work could probably get aid from the city by the re-investment of certain assets in railway companies, growing out of former advances to them under the "million loan" law, &c. It was not doubtful that these precarious claims which have been almost abandoned to the clutches of the needy and undeserving, would be a dead loss unless somebody was interested in looking them up and taking legal steps for their recovery. Therefore, I moved as follows in addition to the original resolutions:

1 *Resolved*, That this meeting is in favor of a Southern connection by Railroad *via* Knoxville with the Gulf, and believe it worth more economically, socially and politically than any other road.

2 *Resolved*, That we favor a transfer by the City of all her railroad property to trustees to be re-invested by them for her benefit in the Railroad line from Danville to the Tennessee line, and that our merchants, manufacturers, and real estate owners, have the deepest pecuniary interest in the completion of the Charleston and Cincinnati Railroad.

3 *Resolved*, That as Dr. Drake was the author of the project in 1856, his fellow citizens may now have the double honor of claiming that Cincinnati originated and completed the most important road in the world, for it is not only the tap root of her prosperity, and an outlet from the Ohio Valley, which is richer in Corn than the Nile, but it is the imperishable bond of union between the Western and Southern States.

4 *Resolved*, That this meeting is in favor of the immediate organization of *The Kentucky Union Railroad Company*, to construct the road to the Tennessee line.

5 *Resolved*, That Council be requested to provide for taking the sense of the citizens on the question of re-investing the railroad property of the City in that Company, or some other in the same direction.

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It will be seen by the amendment, that instead of sending out committees to inquire and report, I propose that we declare at once for the Knoxville route ; also, that certain assets of the city in existing railroads shall be applied as our public part of the expense to help private subscriptions ; and finally, that having found the proper route, and indicated all our means, we should promptly organize the road under the Union Railway charter already in existence, and adapted to our purpose and under our control. These new features put an intelligent face on the resolutions. and show that we mean business, and that we understand how it ought to be done, and, if there be no mistake, accomplish precisely what is due from us, the thinkers, to our friends and fellow-citizens, and all others who rely upon our judgment.

Every few years, there is a crisis in the destiny of great communities. We have passed through several of that kind, and for a long time successfully, but latterly not so well ; and by several radical mistakes have lost our name of the Queen City, and our position as head of the Mississippi valley. The departed sceptre has gone from Cincinnati to St. Louis, where the census shows a glut of population, but not many thousands more than ours ; and a corresponding activity in real estate and commerce. Her town lots are higher than ours, which means, they are more in demand ; her commerce is larger, which signifies more rapid and important exchanges. There is, however, no comparison as yet, nor probably ever will be in the products of agriculture and manufactures. Indeed, looking at the immense error of Missouri in advancing twenty-five millions to railroads, and chartering banks whose fatal paper promises must collapse and devastate her labor to beggary, without any escape, I expect to see the gilded bubble burst, and carry down the fortunes of the city ; sooner or later, it is sure to come. We have passed through such an experience several times, and we understand the consequences of our own knowledge. Chicago has changed hands for very much the same cause. Those who built it do not own it, but

have been sacrificed to the mania of paper money, the inevitable inflation of real estate, and the intoxication of trade. She has learned a lesson, which is required by all beginners, and which neither precept nor example can prevent. St. Louis is treading the *via lethi semel calcanda omnibus* herself. Another set of men of business will arise from the ruins, and like her noble sister cities, she will commence then a true career of great prosperity, adapted to undoubted and abundant resources. The sceptre, by the common course of events which belongs to her would therefore come back to Cincinnati. Yet Cincinnati need not wait for them; she has but to improve the present golden moment to become Queen again. She has long been laboring under bad advisers, careless agents, and small officers. Her citizens have put their trust in themselves too little, and in schemers and charlatans too much, and her widow's weeds and discrowned head attest their errors and her sorrows. With respect to her prosperity; its main spring, after the production of wealth, has been the facility of transportation in the right direction. But while her mechanics, merchants, manufacturers, and the innumerable farmers who are her tributaries have done wonders of industry and produced mines of wealth, her thinkers have gone always wrong in finding and securing a market. And they never were further from the right than now. Let us look at two or three things in the past, and we can better feel the present responsibility.

For twenty years we have held erroneous views of our relation to the railroad system of the United States. The discussions on the subject have been meagre and dull, and not accessible to the mass of the people. Our politics authorize the caucus to choose themselves for public service, or if possible, men of less capacity; and in office they are content; out of it, they do only one kind of business, which is heating the passions of the voters, without addressing a word to their understandings. All truth, and public spirit and individual talent, perish under such auspices. The railroad system, of course, took the wrong direction, and has now been pursuing it since 1840. Being on the surface, one would have expected the contrary; but if with our eyes wide open, we have been running our railroads East and West instead of North and South, what is to be looked for when we go into that underground business of such great magnitude to cities, sewerage! My word for it, for twenty years we will be attempting to

carry our dirty water up hill instead of down, and we shall pursue the same war against gravitation which we have so loudly declared and so foolishly prosecuted by railways constructed in violation of common sense. If our million of public subscription, and our millions of private subscription had been properly applied to reach the cotton States, which want every thing but gold and silver, in the piles of which they are now in some danger of famine, the Eastern cities would have been at Cincinnati with their connections just as soon, and would have spent much more treasure in securing our trade. As if our city had been a tree planted on a rock instead of the richest alluvion, we have hacked and dug the sod, and fostered the surface roots with great expense and to such barren purpose, that it has wasted its strength in leaves and short crops, instead of pushing down towards the earth's center many feet through the richest compost, that great natural tap root which strikes straight for the moisture, minerals, salts and other vegetable diet, which makes the top lofty, the trunk strong, and the fruit exuberant. As the roots are, so are the branches, and therefore our tree has been ruined by empirics, who would destroy, or make alive, according to superficial reasons and observations. If we had had any notion of cause and effect, we should have learned something from the very efforts of the Eastern cities to get into the Mississippi valley. They had the sea before them and the mountains behind them, and to arrive at the fat lands, it was their necessity to expend—Boston over sixty millions, New York twice or thrice as much, Philadelphia and Baltimore together, the same, or even more. And in an evil hour, they persuaded us to help them, and not ourselves, by diverting attention from the South, which was our California, as the West was theirs. Indeed, we not only helped them, but mistook their character; we thought them friends in every thing; but they are and ever must be our rivals in both trade and manufactures. We have to compete with all those cities on Fifth, Pearl, and Main and Walnut streets, in our own town, yet we have no customer anywhere to whom we have not given them an introduction, and offered to ride and tie. More than Know-Nothingism, even more than heavy taxes, this obvious mistake has overweighted us in the race, if we may borrow that phrase from our National Fair. The real truth is very humiliating, but we must allow we did not understand, and have not understood, and now generally mistake

our obvious interests, so far as they are dependent on the channels of distribution.

It is quite right to refer to a kindred subject, to shew by an example of the same sort, what we endure from mal-administration, and who they are who do it. The case of the Louisville and Portland Canal at the falls of the Ohio river, for twenty years has been a grievance of the first order to the great States of the West. The river is our natural channel of business with the South, and theirs with ourselves, but as we have put our railroad well-being into the hands of the enemy, we have done no better with our noble river. The limestone ledge which obstructs the channel there, makes a fall of twenty-five feet in the river in a short distance, at low stages of water. It is, of course, impassable a great part of the year; and a canal has been made by a corporation around the Falls, which has got, probably, three millions of dollars for tolls on the water craft of our Western people within thirty years.* It cost less than a million; the United States subscribed for one-fifth of the stock, and its exactions have been so enormous, that the dividends of that proportion have some time since made the canal federal property, under a Kentucky law of 1842, authorizing an absorption of the private shares. Consequently, there is a nominal corporation; but on some pretence of individual interest, directors are elected, who are managers of the work under a law of Kentucky, and are custodians not only of the canal, but of its treasury; and nobody else interferes, least of all, Cincinnati. The tolls continue to be exacted, and Congress has at last done something about it, which has not transpired, as it is among the acts of the last session, touching a choice piece of property in the hands of Louisville directors. The understanding is, however, that it is left in their hands, and is to be overhauled and rebuilt or remodded on somebody's plan, who is not at all known to, or responsible to any one east of the Falls. Another very gross and fatal mistake to have been committed or permitted by our Congressmen, and yet they all three probably voted for it, and had an idea they were advancing the interests of their constituents. They were probably beguiled by some of the *friends* of the canal;

* Locks 185 feet long, about half the length of first class steamers. Canal too narrow for boats to pass too shallow to get through often in less than two or three days; badly located, so as to endanger craft trying to get into and out of it. Tolls so high that a Cincinnati and St. Louis boat paying the lawful 50 cents a ton, passage, would pay 16 per cent. on total cost of boat; and if six years old, toll equals cost!

or forgot that they represented Cincinnati, or may be, had heard of General Pillow's celebrated plan of fortification in Mexico, and amplified it; in short, as it was immortal, made it amphibious. He had tried it on land, and they thought well of it on water. The General dug his ditch within his wall instead of the outside, so that his soldiers could not get to the wall, but the enemy could, which was a bold experiment for any genius not truly original. And to make a frank avowal, it is not said even by his enemies, that the great fame he has secured has been dimmed by any sacrifices. So much for that departure from the beaten track; and all honor to him who has given war a new discovery, not stained with blood. He may have been inviting the foe—lying in wait for him, preparing his mouse-trap to catch him. I trust there is some such explanation; and I am sure I wish we may get off with the same impunity from the bold experiment of our three representatives upon the Falls Canal. Have they not taken the ground (though to the natural eye very much like taking water) that if you want to keep that work always open and in good order, you have simply to give bodily possession of the concern, with the keys of the exit and entrance locks, into the hands of Louisville? It is true that she is directly interested the other way, and might be tempted or distressed into doing something irregular; but then if she should close the canal, why we can be outside and make an outcry. That's true; but what can we do if the thing being apparently all fair, and the business of repairing in progress, it should unfortunately happen that an awkward blow of the pick, or the force (quite unexpected) of a blast had broken the partition shell, and let the water in at the wrong place, or out? And it would be a worry if that happened to happen at the critical time of low river, and a great deal to do! I see no escape from that reshipment of freights, and the portorage of two miles and a half, which costs from a quarter to a dollar a load, according to draymen and circumstances. All that might become vexatious; in fact, very much so, if Mr. Guthrie should inexorably and simultaneously adhere to the established etiquette of the Louisville and Nashville railroad about precedence among shippers. And then at Nashville, we might find a toll-gate as grievous as the two we left behind at Louisville, because drayage is not uniformly in proportion to distance. In short, a plain man would have preferred that as high as Pittsburgh, at any rate, the control of the canal

should have been, more or less, exercised by the up-river people. Cincinnati would have slept easier for several months past if her Senator and Representatives had been less confident and adventurous. But then, the title of the act was probably "A bill to enlarge, etc." and what more did we want? It is very certain that Mr. Gurley, of the second district, has met his constituents with *eclat* at the tent and pole, corner of Eighth and Mound streets, and amidst the burning of tar, the flight of rockets, and report of ordnance, has held up his services in the late canal enlargement as his principal Congressional trophy. And his audience applauded. I always thought there was a heavy yoke upon our commerce to be broken in that business, and three or four hundred steamboat captains and officers published a great deal about it in the Cincinnati press. I have heard of no dissatisfaction. I presume they will go to the polls and vote for their tried representatives just renominated, and perhaps they may get a third or fourth term, if they will only help the Louisville folks to connect themselves with Knoxville, and prevent any such deceptive alliance with Cincinnati.*

But enough of these desultory things. The crisis at hand does not need any aid of analogy or contrast. Its own claims are enough. We must be up and doing. Perhaps, however, an illustration of the subject-matter involved might make it impressive. Suppose, then, you take the railroad map of the United States. You will see it covered with a net of rail tracks, as thickly interlaced as the spider's web, except at a spot near the center. Just beneath the State of Ohio, to the

* Mr. Gurley's other card for re-election is a perfect Trojan horse; only that he has borrowed from the Iliad unhappily. His bill from the Printing Committee, establishing a *Government printing office*, instead of destroying an enemy, will be sure to become the infernal machine to its friends, no genius ever yet invented such a dangerous engine for the overthrow of his country. Yet he was as much applauded by his constituents for that as for the gift to Louisville of the Falls Canal. And indeed his ingenuity in that matter has been exceeded.

Senator Pugh in April, 1850, proposed a worse project. By his bill to improve the navigation at the Falls, *he gave the Canal to Kentucky*, and \$300,000 if she would take it. Tolls to be laid on Western commerce to pay proper expenses, repairs, and \$50,000 *per annum* to enlarge the Canal. A superintendent was provided, and the United States could assume the possession, etc. This was the first aspect of the bill, which was double. The other was, that the U. S. Secretary of the Treasury should subscribe \$1,000,000 to a private corporation at Jeffersonville, who had got a charter from Indiana, and secured the co-operation of Mr. Bright, who was located there. The United States, *with the assent of Indiana Legislature*, might buy the Canal at cost, after ten years, less the million, without interest. This was a scheme to give up works which should be made at the cost of all the people, to the State of Kentucky and to an Indiana private corporation, and allow them to continue grievous tolls on commerce which should be free, out of which, in proportion to the public loss, would be the gains of speculators. The colleagues of Mr. Pugh were then Pendleton and Groesbeck, but I never heard that they resisted. With several Cincinnati papers, they probably gave it their support. Representative Day, M. C., tried to get a judicious enlargement of the Falls Canal, and opposed Senator Pugh's project. In 1851 Messrs. George Graham and Samuel Goodin did all they could, as a committee from Cincinnati, to have the Canal made a *free Government work* on the Indiana side.

south, there is a white surface of uncertain shape, but covering half a hundred thousand square miles, perhaps thirty millions of acres. It contains the western half of Virginia, the east half and more of Kentucky, (except the Covington road) and a large portion of Middle Tennessee. It is traversed obliquely from east to west by the Cumberland mountains, and its great rivers are the Cumberland and Kentucky, the Savannah and Tennessee. It is the grazing region which the mountains lift up in the middle with their plethora of marble, iron, zinc, copper and coal, but cotton grows on the southern slope to some extent, and corn and other cereals on the northern. It is one of the very finest of all portions of the earth for air and water and landscape. It incites the residence and lavishly rewards the industry of man. Its interior seclusion proves that it has not yet been made to yield its best productions, and like a still larger region round about, especially the whole southern country to the salt water, it is destitute of skilled labor and of manufactures. It loves its ease and its agriculture, and it does not much vex the land, and less the sea. All the access to it from any side must be artificial ; but if we get there from Ohio and Indiana, we need not fear that we shall not have the lion's share of its exchanges. And yet we have strangely and for years, and with our eyes awake, neglected this superb *placer* of mineral, agricultural and other wealth, and never broken in upon the slumbers of its somewhat pastoral people. If the city of Cincinnati continues to pump up by huge engines from the channel of the river to the top of the highest hill her daily supplies of water, which are distributed under ground to every house, it is because she can not do any better. But if she stood over a lake of pure, fresh water, a furlong deep, and inexhaustible, where the Artesian process would reach it, in half a mile, and then a stream could be brought up as thick as a hogshead, to spout several yards high, and flood the streets as it does at Louisville, I wonder how long it would be till the auger found the water? Unless some gentleman suggested that the work was already perfect at Louisville, and that we had better lay a hundred and fifty miles of pipe and depend on her surplus, I suppose it would hardly be many days till something was done. And yet the Artesian process is not required to gather untold gold in the heart of the Southern country ; but only a continuous railroad of eighty miles, at a cost of two millions of dollars. Perhaps we had

as well not decide, however, till the Tennessee delegations have gone away from us to Louisville, and wait for her to decline, for if she accepts, it is perfectly certain that the opportunity returns no more. I am authorized to state, that if the Knoxville committee, whose mission is to connect with the Ohio valley at Cincinnati or Louisville, having made their offer to the former without success, shall prevail at Louisville, they will close at once.

THE MEANS TO BUILD THE SOUTHERN ROAD.

That brings us to the consideration of our means to make any Southern connection, for we will be required to contribute in any event one million, and from two to three times that amount if we do not go by Knoxville. My amendment proposes to accept the Knoxville route as being most eligible, and to turn over all the *railroad assets of the city of Cincinnati* to aid our private subscriptions and fill up a part of the gap of eighty miles. The reasons of selecting the Knoxville proposition I will give afterwards. The private subscriptions can readily be had because our capitalists are all deeply interested in the Southern railroad connection, and if they can be made to see it as I do, they will subscribe freely. At least three to five hundred thousand dollars ought to be obtained from that source, and perhaps it is proper to expect the radiating roads out of Cincinnati also to contribute even more, especially those who have not only an interest in the business of the new route; but also in the developments which I propose to make of their relations to the city. The Covington & Lexington road has an additional reason which may be stated. The present owner bought it at a judicial sale made by its creditors, and if he did not purchase the charter as well as the corporate property, he may possibly manage his road, but he becomes individually liable on all the contracts, besides other serious annoyance. He will consider whether he has not particular incentives to co-operation.

The transfer by Cincinnati of her railroad assets, involves an explanation which want of time necessarily makes imperfect; but I can state what I know so intelligibly, that my fellow citizens may make up their minds that there is something to be got by perseverance, and that the way to get it is to have the matter sifted by interested parties. What are our railroad assets? *Mostly, claims on certain railroads having*

termini here, which received a portion of what is known as "*the million loan*" under the law of Ohio of 20th March, 1850. That law authorized the city to lend its credit in any amount not exceeding \$1,000,000, to such roads. Wm. B. Cassilly was President of the Council, and George Graham Chairman of the Committee of Finance, and their approbation of any transaction was necessary. It was left to the latter to secure compliance with all the formalities.

I have only been able to possess myself of some of the particulars of these miserable dealings with the interests of the city.

THE LOANS TO THE ROADS OTHER THAN THE MISSISSIPPI.

In 1850, our community was crazy about railroads, and ready to make them large advances. The Companies coming and going to and from Cincinnati were not slow to take advantage of our condition, and get heavy subscriptions.

The 14th March, 1850, the Hillsboro' Railroad got an act passed, authorizing the city specially to subscribe \$100,000 to its capital stock in thirty year 6's, or lend it that sum, provided the citizens so voted at the April election. No security for the city was provided; but she was authorized to pledge all her property to redeem her own bonds! This was probably thought rather too bald a proceeding, and therefore further railroad legislation was devised against the interests of the city, but requiring the appearance at least of security; and no doubt intended to be very insecure. And the object was accomplished as follows:

The 20th March, 1850, the Legislature passed an act "to authorize the city of Cincinnati to loan its credit to railroads" going into the city to the amount of a million of dollars. The Covington and Lexington road was also included. Sec. 5 provides that before issuing the bonds to the roads, in such sums as the Council may approve, a vote of the citizens at the regular spring or fall election shall be taken, and if in the affirmative, the bonds shall be issued. Sec. 7 says that it shall be the duty of the Council *to secure by mortgage, etc., of stock, etc.; or such other lien or security, real or personal, as may be mutually agreed on by the Company and Council*, the payment of the bonds and the interest.

It appears by a list of city property that she has now \$100,000, in Little Miami Railroad bonds, \$100,000 Hillsboro' road, \$100,000, in Covington & Lexington road,

\$150,000, each, of the Eaton and Marietta roads, and \$600,000, of the Mississippi road, \$1,200,000, on which the city pays interest annually of about \$70,000, although the Railroads agreed to do so, as the Missouri roads on \$25,000,000, or State bonds have also agreed to do in that State, but have not done, and never can. No plummet will ever sound the depths to which that abuse of State credit, (doubling the private subscriptions) will sink the fortunes of Missouri and St. Louis, and that speedily. I believe that the Little Miami, Covington, Marietta, Eaton, and Hillsboro', applied for their amounts under the conditions of the law; and I presume that the proposition of Council put to the vote of the Citizens was that the bonds were to be lent as so much money and *secured by a mortgage on the road itself as the first lien*; and that it was so voted by the people. There were good officers then in the Council who were up to the dodges of dishonesty.

The Chairman of Finance, (Geo. Graham,) would not deliver a bond to these roads under the ordinance and proceedings of Council and the citizens until first he received bonds and mortgages from each road for its amount. Second, approved them; third, sent his messenger to the Recorders of every county through which they passed in Ohio and Kentucky to have the mortgages recorded. Fourth, received them back here with the Recorder's certificates on the papers that they had been recorded properly. Then, he issued the bonds to all but the Hillsboro' Company, in which case, he required receipts of the Commission merchants at Sandusky that the track iron for the road was arriving and had arrived, and then he gave *pro rata* checks on New York. It was an unprecedented proceeding, and cost the officer his place probably, for the next Council organized without him. And when we consider it calmly it was offensive to him to have required a loan law to be literally observed.

The only subsisting mortgage that I have found is that of the Eaton road on all its property, to secure \$25,000 bonds, and also the residue of \$150,000, dated 29th December, 1850. The other mortgages are said to have been released, the power to do which is questioned by lawyers. As a sample which gives due credit to the proper parties to the record and their coadjutors in Council, a similar mortgage to the Eaton, (and probably all the others,) I find was executed by the Hillsboro' Company, August, 1850: Recorded 30th April, 1851: Released by direction of Council of 2d Feb.; on the

12th Feb., 1853, Andrew Griffin, President; Joseph Blundell, Recorder. The Council in advancing to railroads, must pursue the mode provided, and having pursued it, are bound; and if they wanted to release mortgages they held as not only implied, but *express* trustees for the people, it would require legislation and a new vote to restore the already exhausted power over the subject matter. The city can get something probably out of a rigorous prosecution of these claims. We come now to a different case, where there was no mortgage of the road, but the citizens voted to lend on that condition alone, and the bonds could only be so issued; either there is a lien on the Company's real estate, or the bonds are void, in all legal probability.

THE MISSISSIPPI ROAD ALSO APPLIED FOR A LOAN.

On the 20th September, 1850, it was resolved by Council to refer the question of granting the loan of \$600,000, to the Mississippi road to the people at the ensuing October election; the loan to be City bonds of that amount at thirty years. The resolution also provided that the money should be expended in the construction of the road; and that the "bonds" should be *secured by a mortgage upon such property of the Company as the Council should require*, with satisfactory security for the prompt payment of the interest. The people voted it; and the 29th August, 1851, Council recited these matters in an ordinance, and that they would lend the \$600,000, to the Company *on its bonds* SECURED BY A MORTGAGE ON THE ROAD pursuant to all the prior steps taken in the business. The President and Recorder of the Council were authorized to execute these conditions, and to issue and deliver bonds for \$600,000. We were then as safe as possible for that amount, and would be able to-day to tell our Southern friends, here is over half a million of dollars which we take out of the Mississippi road, and put in the road we so much desire to build, following the example of South Carolina which has sold out her roads by instalments as soon as finished, and so continued the work. But the Mississippi Company memorialized Council that *they must give somebody else the first mortgage on the track, &c.*, for they could not get money otherwise. The subject got into a corner and under a cobweb in the darkest angle of the Committee room, where they sit by night and in silence, "two or three gathered together," with somebody who shall be nameless in their

midst. A report surrendering the citizens' interest was made of course, and with it came out of the darkness an ordinance of the melancholy date 29th December, 1851, which provided that so much of the *pricr* ordinance as required a mortgage on the road be repealed, on condition that the Mississippi Company would pledge a million of its stock, with authority to dispose if they could, of so much of it as would realize \$600,000, and further, that if they did not pay the interest, that they should keep on transferring adequate stock. Thus the bars were deliberately laid down, and the corn field in full ear was laid open: it was soon stripped; even the interest being afterwards got rid of in a dexterous purchase and sale, lease and release of the speculation of the wharf property. Not a blade of fodder is to be found: all gone, and the same vigilant people still shewing their white fronts at public meetings, and giving their views and advice. Having extricated the Mississippi road from payment of interest on the \$600,000, till it sold out to Aspinwall; *the wharf property* as it is called, played the splendid two horse act of being *rented* back by the Company from the city for \$30,000 per annum: to begin however, five years after date, giving a personal bond of undoubted men, that they would then be sure to pay it punctually. Of course, that was a part of the swindle, and never intended to be otherwise than entirely delusive. The bond was signed and sealed by responsible persons and delivered to the Council, who having already been diddled out of \$600,000 of the people's money, now had good security for high rents if they would only buy the fee simple of the wharf property at another half a million. The city and her watchful servants walked into what gave no warning to the eye, but turned out to be a mouse trap within a rat trap, and almost the same size. In fact, these two well ventilated edifices contained but one apartment, where we are now, corporately speaking, gnawing the rusty wires, for as *I told you before*, or if I didn't, as you might have known without being told, a large part of the *fee simple estate* proved to be leasehold at high ground rents; and the bond of the solid men although drawn by a professional hand in pay of the Mississippi Company, lacked a small technicality, and has been abandoned by our city government, I hear, as worthless. That is among the marvels we ought to examine in time for the next spring election. The history of the wharf property is important, because by due diligence the city may

get something out of it. I have only space for a glimpse into the pit.

The purchase of the wharf property at Mill-creek from the Mississippi Railroad by the city for \$500,000 of her 6's, due in 30 years, is decided by the *Superior Court* to have been valid and the bonds good, but the Judge in his opinion states that he had very grave doubts about it. The case should be reviewed by the Supreme Court, for the decision may be reversed. I give a brief statement of the pith of the transaction. The city is forbidden by general law of 1853, to authorize any loan or appropriation *not predicated on the revenues of the current fiscal year*. It could not therefore predicate a contract on any issue of bonds payable afterwards, unless so specially authorized. The authority to buy the wharf *with bonds* is claimed to exist in the exception made by the law for purchases of permanent property; but the exception only gives the city in that case *power to borrow any sum of money not exceeding \$500,000, &c.* This contemplates a cash transaction it may be insisted, between the city and proprietors, and was intended to cut up speculation. There should be a further investigation, and if the city *had no power* to issue these half million of bonds, they are void in the hands of the present holders.

In 1856, the Mississippi Railroad wanted more money for her road, and she leased the wharf property of the city for 15 years on condition that the interest due on the \$600,000 loan was remitted, and then no rent was to be paid the first five years, but for the last ten years \$30,000 a year was to be paid for rent. Of course, not a dollar of rent was ever paid, and even the bond of John Baker and other solvent persons securing its payment, was found to have been so drawn by Judge Coffin, the Company's solicitor, as to be valueless it is said; but that discovery was only made after the payment of the purchase money of the wharf. It would have been serious if the city solicitor had found it out before. And perhaps the operation if scrutinized, (for which I shall have ample time, and a strong inclination) may have been just cunning enough to defeat itself. When the Volscians fluttered, some Coriolanus had to be about;—and when Rome was saved.

It is absolutely necessary in taking her stock inventory for the city to go into a good deal of garret and cellar work. I do not pretend to say that over half a million can be realized out of the ore which is to be mined from such heaps of

rubbish, and which may not be found at all. But I say that the way to get its rights in these assets is for Cincinnati to assist in this great Southern connection by a transfer to Trustees of her railroad claims, for they will then be looked up, and in the meantime while we can never lose a dollar that is not lost already, we can probably render "material aid" to the first enterprize of the day. If not now secured these assets will be forever lost.

A prospect from this quarter of even half a million; *a fortiori*, a million and a half opened, our proprietors, merchants, manufacturers, and others, will not be so unjust to themselves and their city as not to give freely, and the capitalists of the interior cities in Ohio and Indiana ought to do the same. Columbus, Indianapolis, Cleveland, Fort Wayne, Dayton and Richmond, Chillicothe and Madison, and the rest, ought to set an example in giving instead of waiting on us. I will be disappointed if they do not subscribe, and it shall not be for want of reasons and information if I can help it.

THE KNOXVILLE ROUTE IS THE BEST.

There are three routes advocated by delegates from the South; and a fourth, which is called a compromise, seems to have friends in the press, and in the city. The proposed routes are *via* Cumberland Gap, or Morristown, which is farthest east; *via* Knoxville, which lies centrally, and *via* Nashville which is farthest west. The compromise is *via* McMinnville and Chatanooga.

The amendment I have offered, selects Knoxville as the point to be reached by the railroad tap root of Cincinnati. This route will, like the others, connect at Danville, 135 miles south of us in Kentucky, to which point the Lexington & Covington road will be made. Thence it is 143 miles to Knoxville, on the other side of the formidable mountains, which must be conquered by the two first routes; or encircled by the third, or turned by a circle within a circle, by the compromise.

I am in favor of Knoxville:

Because, there are only eighty miles of road to be made by Cincinnati, over a country presenting no engineering difficulties of grave importance, against about twice that distance: *because* it is the straightest road south, and it penetrates the centre of the great void we have before described, and commands the whole southern interior where the marbles

and metals are finest, the climate and soil best; and the reciprocal wants and resources of the sections adapted to each other. *Because* it is the shortest and best route to great cities of the Gulf and the Southern Atlantic; to New Orleans, 843; to Mobile, 743; to Pensacola, 760; to Charleston, 660, or only twenty or thirty miles longer than it is to Baltimore by her magnificent road. The grade is good for the whole distance, and between Nashville and Knoxville, as far as the chief Southern distributing point at Dalton, Georgia; the former has a long grade of 106 feet or more per mile, and the latter only 38. The distance from Cincinnati to Dalton, *via* Morristown, is 425 miles; by Knoxville, 335; by Nashville, 498. *Because*, Knoxville has already got constructed thirty miles of the road north of her toward Cincinnati, and the directors of the K. K. Company pledge themselves to reach the Kentucky line in time, thirty-three miles further, coming to this west side of the Cumberland mountain through *Wheeler's Gap*, to meet us; from there to Danville is only eighty miles, which will cost two millions of dollars. Their expenditure for a city and county of 20,000 people (with about \$600,000, from the State to iron and equip the track) will be near a million. *Wheeler's Gap* is a better crossing than Cumberland Gap, and Rabun Gap is the best for the Blue Ridge, south of the Cumberland mountains. General Hayne insisted on going by Spartanburg in S. C., and Ashville in N. C., through the valley cut by the French broad branch of the Tennessee River: and he took S. Carolina with him, yet he afterwards changed his mountain route *via* Knoxville, but clung to his valley line below. Mr. Calhoun always insisted that the outlet of S. Carolina was *via* Rabun Gap, and *Wheeler's Gap* running through Knoxville on the line now proposed, known as the Blue Ridge Railroad, and to the prosecution of which S. Carolina has pledged her credit, and which she intends to carry out.* *Because*, not only the

* It is appropriate in this place (*Merchants' Exchange*) made sacred to Free trade and Mr. Calhoun by the long debate of 1839, and the consequent change of public opinion North West, from the Clay and Jackson tariff policy, to recount one more great passage of the South Carolina Senator's life. It relates to the subject now discussed. He doubted the correctness of Hayne's judgment about the Spartanburg and French Broad and Cumberland Gap route for the Northern and Southern Railroad. He lived at a place near Anderson, and knew the Rabun Gap; and his problem was to find a passage through the next mountains better than the Cumberland Gap. He set out on foot with his son, and his instruments, (levels made by himself) and traced the present route *via* Knoxville and *Wheeler's Gap*, and pronounced it the proper one. For the only time in his important career the State refused to agree, and Hayne rejected that advice and wisdom which crowned their doctrine so gloriously in the Senate. After Hayne's death, the opinion of the State changed, and she has ever since by great preponderance, gone for the Blue Ridge road, and is bound by every consideration of prudence and gratitude to her great man whose mantle awaits in her custody a giant

engineering and financial obstacles are small, but the special legislation of such enterprizes is already obtained, from Kentucky, and enables us to go directly from Covington or Newport, if terms cannot be made with the Lexington Road, as is not probable. The recent complications of that road will help to perfect our plans. It is so important that we shall have no trouble with the legislature of that noble state, that I dwell a moment on the explanation of this fortunate condition of things.

The charter of the Knoxville and Kentucky Company, passed 25th Feb., 1856, authorizes the building within five years, of a road from Knoxville to the Kentucky, and gives it \$10,000 a mile State aid, to furnish iron for the track as fast as individual subscriptions make the grade. This road is about half done; and we are assured by two of the directors present that it will be completed sixty-three miles to the end, through Wheeler's Gap, in time to meet any connection with Cincinnati. This charter authorizes consolidation of the road with such a railway connection, and the two directors offer to give up all control of the whole work to those who make it from this side. One year before that charter, 10th March, 1854, some of the wise men of the city, in order to secure a Southern road to the Gulf, by either Cumberland Gap or Wheeler's Gap, got the charter of a "Kentucky Union Railway Company" from that State. Seven of the Commissioners who are named in the act were residents of Cincinnati, and any two of the whole number have the power to open subscriptions at such time and place as they may choose. The capital stock is five million of dollars, in \$100 shares, and as soon as five thousand shares are subscribed, the organization may be completed by the election of nine directors, who have power to survey, locate and construct a railway to the Tennessee line at either Gap. The Company may borrow its money, or get it by shares of stock; and it may receive county and city subscriptions. It may consolidate with the Knoxville and Kentucky Company or another road in that direction; and only five thousand dollars will be required in cash to begin, for the charter says one dollar a share only at the time of subscribing is necessary to be paid, and five thousand

like him, who takes an easy place *primus inter pares* in the statesmen's Pantheon of our age. In the realm of politics and metaphysics he had no need of any pioneer, but carried in his head and heart the best chart and compass of the post revolutionary times. His explanations of systems and doctrines will stand as long as the Constitution to which they all relate, and it seems that he was competent to lead his countrymen the best way on the map to their destination, and mark it with his axe. In the concrete, his logic is as admirable as in those models of reasoning which can never pass away but with civilization.

shares thus represented will organize the Company. So far, then, as the legislative element is wanted for our Southern connection, it has already been procured from the wisdom of Kentucky.

There are 20 miles finished from Anderson to Clayton, leaving 120 miles to Knoxville, of which 16 miles south of Knoxville has been already graded: the piers across the river at that City are already built, and it is nearly certain that South Carolina will conquer the difficulty at Rabun Gap which is not lofty, for the head waters of the Ohio river run thence west, and those of Savannah river south from that point. The Blue Ridge road will be finished as soon as we can get down to Knoxville; but if it should not we are still nearer the Gulf cities than all the other routes there, and also to Charleston.

As to the Morristown route near Cumberland Gap the first answer to it is that if it comes up as far from Charleston as Paintrock and Morristown, for the next fifty miles it will have to cross the Clinch, Holston, and other sources of the Tennessee river at the cost of a million and a half besides what the State advances, (\$10,000 a mile, \$70,000 bridge money) and you are no nearer Danville than you are on the Knoxville road at the Kentucky line. It is better for Morristown to go down the East Tennessee and Georgia Road from that place to Knoxville and there take the route we propose. But S. Carolina is wedded to the Blue Ridge road and will not be likely to go farther than Spartansburg, which will leave us hanging for a long time *in nubibus*, if we go direct to Morristown. I know that Virginia will build her road on the State boundary westward from Bristol to Cumberland Gap, and that thence we should get easily to Norfolk, but that is not the Cincinnati route to that grand seaport for which a destiny is preparing which it is given to no man to foresee. It is the best harbor we have, deepest water, easiest exit and entrance, no ice, nearest our interior and to Europe, just on the sea where railroads can run their last possible mile at their highest speed, and the steamer lies perfectly safe from storms and sands, and always can at any moment find refuge, or tempt the waves. It is to be the rival of New York in after times, for Baltimore has no depth of water, and a great part of her shipments is three hundred miles of navigation out of the way; the useless 150 miles up the Bay being doubled coming down to the point whence the voyage should have commenced. Charleston has too little water and

too much fever to supplant Norfolk, which has too much, if anything, of both; but too little of neither. This is the Golden Gate of the Golden Age which is to follow our iron times, and will show the proudest sight of all the cities of the Coast in later days, first to catch the beam of the rising sun. and in her mighty bosom to concentrate the heat and light of that boundless domain westward which extends to his latest setting.

As to the Nashville route; it is also less eligible than that by Knoxville, or Morristown. It is longer even to the southeastern cities, New Orleans, Pensacola, Mobile, &c., and 100 miles longer to Charleston which it can only reach *via*. Chatanooga, and that is surely serious because Chatanooga has a most circuitous route, and pursues it under the greatest trials. The distance to Cincinnati will also be 175 miles, and the cost five millions. Nashville has done all she can for railroads, and the only reliance will be on perhaps half a million of State aid, and then on County and corporation subscriptions. But the farmers have no surplus this year, and no assurance of the next. And you can not rely on roving capitalists from abroad who are in quest of more money, and can only afford for greater mineral wealth made available to expend their own gold and silver. To get at the iron, copper, zinc, marble, coal and other terrene treasures you must send out your miners to the ranges of the mountains further east. Besides, where is five millions to be got, when two will answer the same purpose *via*. Knoxville? I can understand why Nashville wants the new road although she has one, but I do not comprehend how she makes her claim clear to us, nor can I be satisfied that she will use great exertions to accomplish a thing she has already attained. Her fresh and tide water connections are made; why should not Knoxville have them likewise? It is to the interest of Nashville, because it being the best point in the State for the Ohio valley above the falls of the river, the State will derive from it the greatest benefit; and its capital will largely participate. Indeed, if it were needed she might profitably vote for a State subscription. I have two incidental arguments of the Nashville delegation to answer here which are good only for her, and not for Cincinnati. They say first that our new direct road to Nashville will give us competing routes to the South; but so will the other connection more universally: and second, they say they are to be in communication with Texas and westward; but the North

and East from Norfolk to Maine, is worth far more to all concerned, and even to us.

As for the fourth proposed, or compromise route, it is entirely impracticable: the mountain ranges are to be got over or got round; there is no other mode of doing it, unless you are resolved on a tunnel of many miles with cold chisels. The map shows that these mountains dip gradually to the south west; but that Nashville in order to get to Chatanooga can not take the air line by McMinville, but has to run off her course due south nearly, a long distance and then east at almost right angles. McMinville is the point of the compromise route on the west side of the range, but to get over on the other side to Chatanooga from there, there is a crescent of 35 miles to be made to Tallahoma; when the Nashville crescent is reached, and on this double curvature from the air line point at McMinville you can only go slowly over a distance of 70 miles, at a grade for five miles on the East side of 106 feet to the mile, and through a half mile tunnel, to Chatanooga. Once there after all this effort, you are as near Knoxville as McMinville, on a grade of less than 40 feet to the mile, and why not better go through Wheeler's Gap, to get there, than round Robin Hood's barn and farmyard to boot. It was fate that compelled Nashville to go by any kind of rough road and rough riding to Chatanooga; or she must forego Charleston or the Atlantic. But is she fox enough to spread mutilation, and make steel traps fashionable? I have so much regard for her, that I wager she never asked the compromise people even to co-operate with her: they live probably in the flat countries on the Ohio, and know mountains from having heard there are gentle elevations in the moon. Such astronomers and philosophers are requested to take their eyes off the firmament and fix them on *terra firma* with the engineers and explorers and advocates, upon actual view of ground, and calculation of cost, of the only true route from Cincinnati for a southern connection *via*. Knoxville to the Gulf and Atlantic. There can be no doubt of the vast superiority of that southern connection; and we should make the selection without any hesitation, and try to bring it about. Some are afraid of giving offence to two or three other suitors, but I do not see how they are to be saved from the grief they must feel at being rejected. In good society it is not allowed to hold out hopes to those who have asked in vain when there has been consent given to another. And others are for committees of citizens to go out prospect-

ing on our behalf. These will do nothing for the simple reason that the Union Railroad Company will be organized at once, elect its officers, and send the engineers down into Kentucky to get the best route for us, and certainly to decide for Knoxville. The interests of the stock-holders will be the best guide in the exploration. We may safely trust to that, and be comforted. If the present city government were to be continued, we might have some trouble with the transfer of her railroad property to a trustee to subscribe to the Union Company consolidated with the K. K. Company, but now that public attention is aroused, there will be changes of rulers; and with new masters we shall have new laws and advisers.* I think the course of wisdom will be to go on, and set our faces resolutely towards Knoxville, with its minerals, its railroad connection, its central position, its easy grades, its helping hand and its enlightened and indomitable spirit.

THE SOUTHERN CONNECTION ECONOMICALLY.

Of course this subject is next in order. There is something more to do than selecting a route. We must show its advantages, for on that depends its construction. The amendment asserts that our southern railroad connection is important to both sections of the Union, and I purpose to give a few facts and reasons to show that it is more important than any line of railroad in any direction. The matter might be disposed of by one observation which lies on the surface, and that is, that the line crosses different latitudes which produce not only most valuable, but different products. The exchange of them is now exceedingly indirect, *ten times as long* for bulky articles as we propose to make it. The Cumberland and Tennessee rivers bring iron of the best quality to the Ohio, down stream, and there it has to be re-shipped for Cincinnati. The voyage is often 2,000 miles; and the enterprise pays although the money is only realized in several months. North and south roads have this advantage over lines east and west: on the latter it is a sale of nearly the same things at a light profit, on the former it is exchange of dissimilar things at a very heavy one. And the

* This transfer to a trustee is indispensable because of the reading of the 8th Sec. of the 6th Art. of the Constitution:

“The General Assembly shall never authorize any county, city, town, or township, by vote of its citizens or otherwise, to become a stockholder in any joint stock company, corporation or association whatever, or to raise money for, or loan its credit to, or in aid of, any such corporation, company, or association.”

No doubt this provision was intended to prevent railroad abuses in Ohio which had just before 1851 taken such fearful liberties with the substance of the people and converted almost all public officers into knaves.

cotton States selling their articles for gold and silver to Europe by the pound, prefer their staple business to every thing else; consequently there is nothing in our region they are not ready to buy and able to pay for.

But let us glance at the almost infinite extent of the present enterprise. It connects two separate systems of road of 8,000 miles each, now nearly or quite separated, the Louisville and Nashville road being the only ligament and not yet a year old. The whole Mississippi valley is therefore before us soliciting examination. It will be worth while to sum up its material progress, so that we may all have an idea of the vastness of the subject, which is nothing less than to retrieve our lost ascendancy, and make Cincinnati Queen of the greatest empire the sun shines on in the next half century. If she can re-occupy the summit of the wealth and intellect therein concentrated, since the census has given us the majority of the federal vote and consequently the government, she may become the center of power in the confederation. First, let me state the march of population. Before 1790, a few savage tribes occupied the wilderness. Cincinnati was settled by a handful in 1788. But in 1790 there were 200,000 white people in the valley; in 1800, half a million; in 1810, a million and a half; in 1820, two millions and a half; in 1830, four millions; in 1840, six millions; in 1846, nine millions, or nearly half the people of the U. S.; and in 1860, quite one half, perhaps over, thirteen millions. There has been a still greater increase of commerce. In 1817, above New Orleans to the Alleghenies, 20 hundred ton barges making one trip a year, and 150 keel boats of a hundred and thirty tons making three trips, did all the business of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, with 6500 tons capacity. In 1843, 450 steamers of 200 tons existed; 90,000 tons, worth \$80 00 per ton, \$7,200,000; 16,000 persons were employed, and the annual expense was 12 millions of dollars; 4,000 flats employed at the same time 20,000 persons. All these craft earned two millions of dollars a year for freights on one hundred and twenty million dollars of U. S. products, and one hundred million dollars of other: equal to two hundred and twenty millions. In 1846, the property carried rose to \$300,000,000; and the other items in proportion. In 1860 these estimates are all greater notwithstanding the activity and extent of railroads, and may be almost doubled on 1843.

But there is a larger increase in agricultural products, for

in the beginning of this century they were nothing ; and this year they will be enormous ; their increase may be estimated by two items only : the corn crop of the Union will not be short of one thousand million bushels and the wheat crop two hundred millions, half of which will be exportable, or six hundred millions of bushels, and will realize immense profit ; to the Mississippi Valley alone more than a hundred millions of dollars on these two staples.

And if we could calculate the increase of manufactures we would ascertain results quite astonishing, and equally to the credit of our favored locality. From the smallest beginnings they have assumed stupendous proportions. In the State of Ohio alone eighty millions, and nearly double that amount in the four States referred to so often ; but hardly as much more in all the Mississippi Valley.

The Mississippi Valley contains about 12,000,000 square miles, and has three divisions, the first, of which the river is the centre and which is drained by its tributaries, extending east and west to the mountains and filling up the temperate zone north and south. Then we have the region southwest including Texas, and south-east as far as cotton flourishes. This valley is *par excellence* the agricultural region of the Union and of the world. It only wants a fair remuneration for its labor, and wise administration for its affairs to attain a development never attained before. Its products are various and its people different ; and its first necessity is that it be linked together by both feelings and interests. It is the granary of the civilized world to which the present wants of Europe have more than ever turned her statesmen's eyes. It can feed and clothe more people cheaper and better than any competitor ; it already boasts the length of its railroads and telegraphs and the size and beauty of its steam fleet. The industrious habits, the hardy pursuits, the high spirit of its people are the country's strength in peace and will be her defence in war. The sea as well as the land forces must look to the thousands of population inured to labor and to the steam engine, in all its applications, for the mass of future soldiers and sailors of the Republic. In a military view there is no Atlantic seaboard or other public work half so important to the Union for defence as the southern route from the Ohio river. "It would," says Dr. Drake in his report to the citizens of Cincinnati, 15th August, 1835, "afford facilities for the transportation of troops, munitions of war and military sustenance, from the centre to the bor-

ders, or even from one frontier to the other with unexampled rapidity; thus forming a concentration favorable to national defence in time of war which could not otherwise be effected, and which would present a new triumph of civilization over barbarism, by making civil public works an efficient substitute for standing armies, and powerful navies, which exhaust the resources and endanger the liberties of a nation."

Within the heart of the Mississippi Valley lie in quadrangle the four States which it is proposed to-night to unite immediately by railroad. They lie two and two separated by the Ohio, but side by side. Indiana is as closely connected with us as Tennessee with Kentucky, and the latter are identified on one map in Colton's Atlas. In round numbers they contain one hundred thousand square miles. Ohio has two millions and a half of people and the other States a million each, say 5,500,000 or one-fourth of the Union and nearly half the population of the great valley, so that we are largely interested in the Federal property, policy and destiny. We are the owners of every fourth ship, fort, dock, acre of public land, &c., &c. We are all stupendously in debt; say for public debts fifty millions, and for private five hundred millions, but our people are intelligent and highly prosperous notwithstanding. By a few statements about Ohio, we can form an estimate of our strength and our duty to ourselves and our confederates. If one of the quadruple allies is so powerful what would they all four be if they opposed even *vis inertiae* to bad men and bad measures, and especially if they united in advocating good? We have seen what is the total area of the valley and its population.

The canals of the Union are about 5,000 miles, of which Ohio owns almost a fifth; the railroads 30,000 miles, of which she owns a tenth. All the railroads cost one thousand millions of dollars, of which half is paid and the other half is debt at interest possibly not to be paid, but owing 30 millions a year to creditors. The income is 55 millions of dollars, leaving 25 millions available. Divide by ten, and we get Ohio's proportion of these results. Of our 25 millions acres of agricultural lands, we have 20 millions in farms, ten millions cultivated. Average of farms, 100 acres; and 300,000 owners, or a million and a half engaged in agriculture. Our annual products are: agriculture, \$150,000,000; manufactures, \$80,000,000; mechanics, \$50,000,000; carrying, \$10,000,000; mining, \$10,000,000; say \$300,000,000; the *per annum* produce of half a million of men and as

many women, and children able to work and of a thousand millions of property. But time and space fail for further detail, if it were necessary, as it is not, for it must be evident that the matters at stake in the final action of Cincinnati upon this occasion, have not been exceeded in any period of her history. She is to decide the question of questions.

But I must speak of the social importance of the Southern railroad connection. We ought to establish that cordiality for our neighbors and confederates which becomes the inhabitants of a vast, free country, under one political system. That duty has been controlled by Providence, and its performance has awaited the almost supernatural advent of railroads and telegraphs; for the map has been so arranged that otherwise we could only have very limited intercourse with our fellow citizens of the South. Rivers being the natural channels of trade, we have followed them as they led off to the remote South-West corner, where we found none of the residents of that great region lying on the Gulf and Atlantic from Norfolk to New Orleans, and from our river Ohio to the salt water. At New Orleans, the Western farmer has not met the Southern planter who is so rich a customer, but the Yankee commission merchant, and so they have been strangers to one another. In fact, it has always been since my recollection, my desire to see people who came from Raleigh, Augusta, Charleston; or to know Western people who had been through the dangers and difficulties said to be insuperable to families and to property, and besetting the road. I have had a desire for twenty years to visit Washington county, Virginia, which was the adopted home of my Irish grandfather, and expect to live to accomplish it; but believe I have given up the idea of standing on King's Mountain, where he was killed in battle. The barriers to intercourse have been formidable; and the alienation of feeling between the sections of the Union, West and South, has no other reasonable foundation: that conquered, all else will be sure to yield. We all know the case of the Israelites related in Genesis, and illustrating the condition of the world at our own doors after over two thousand years. It proves that dwell where and how we will, human nature dwells with us, and that we should correct the acerbity of our lives now, by the history of Egypt. There was a famine there, as the Southern States are likely to have something of the kind; and the Canaanites came up to buy corn of Joseph, the prime

minister of Pharaoh, who had abundance of it. So our Tennessee friends to-day have cash in their pockets to buy seed wheat, for the crop with them has perished. We have it to sell; and what happened in Africa may easily happen to us. The application at first for corn to the valley of the Nile, was followed by intercourse and settlement, of great advantage to both parties, as this visit of Tennessee for railroads and supplies will surely become if we know how to turn it to account. If you remember your Bibles, the peculiar calling of the Israelites was "*an abomination*" in the eyes of the Egyptians; they were only shepherds—nomades—who presented themselves in rags for bread, and finally sold themselves and families into slavery to get it. In the present case, the guests we have received and listened to for several days, are *slaveholders* who are not only strangers, but are obnoxious to the over righteous residents of the free States; but they have plenty of money to buy our surplus, and they have also very valuable commodities to sell. They ask us to help them and to help ourselves, to get wiser and richer by contact than we were before: and the decision we make involves an immense amount of social and political happiness, as well as matters of profit, and years of accelerated development. That our prejudices cannot hold out against the railroad and telegraph, I would if I had space, quote from Buckle's elaborate work to prove where he gives the melioration of feeling between the French and English peoples in consequence of steam communication. It is enough to put abolitionists and slaveholders at once on speaking terms. I advise them to make haste and read it, instead of giving themselves up to their old habits of mutual bitterness and denunciation. They might as well hasten on with the age, for they will find by examining the history of other nations, their own case anticipated with all its aggravation.

In a political point of view the consequences of this communication every day, and every hour, between the West and South will be of the utmost value. There is a question of domestic policy about which the Union is supposed to near its end. And the West can truly claim that she has had very little to say in the wretched business. She has been called North during the controversy, and possibly thought that was her name; but it is a misnomer, she is not North, but West; and further than that, she is not properly any party; but a natural arbiter between the parties. She is strong enough and wise enough when she comes to her senses,

to adjust that momentous issue and she will do it, and this very railroad proceeding is one of the pioneers of the decree which she will render finally, for the comfortable close of the negro agitation. The quadrangle of States to be clasped in one embrace by the Union Railroad with their capitals at Knoxville and Nashville, Louisville and Cincinnati, can far more easily preserve liberty and the Constitution than the quadrangle in Italy can continue tyranny. Before the steps of Garibaldi and the Revolution, despotism must yield its strongholds at Mantua, Verona, Peschiera and Legnano; but nothing can prevail against the Confederation if we do now confirm the alliance pointed out by nature, strengthened by good works, and consecrated by Providence to their mission, which ought henceforth to exist between the four States and four cities of the Great Valley. Not alone on the pending question, but on many and perhaps, greater, which are to arise in the future, a cordial union of our obvious internal interests, will draw after it all the firm faith and coöperation which copartnership requires, and establish the doctrine that we do not live under the caprice of any majority whatever, either of great States or of population, but under a written compact called the Constitution which is the only arbiter of truth and justice for every member of the whole confederation. We need as little government as possible, and never that sort which does wrong because it has the power, and right only on compulsion. We want to have a domestic policy founded on the rock of State Rights; and we want a foreign policy copied after that superior wisdom which makes trade perfectly free between the States. We have long enough suffered under the interested legislation for special places and pursuits. The West and the South at this auspicious moment of our history have the clearest common path to pursue together for taking possession for their products of the markets of the world. Is it possible that we will lose the present golden moment, and the grand highway communication which so auspiciously bid us launch ourselves on a new and unparalleled career? Cincinnati, I know, has men and women enough to prompt her best decision of the pending question, however there may be some, who mistake their duty. It is true, as the amendment declares, that the Southern connection is to us on all accounts, economically, socially and politically, worth more to us than any other railroad; and it is equally true that the Knoxville *route* com-

bines all the advantages, and is not embarrassed by any drawbacks.

It is now nearly the time of the equinox. By some law of nature, the darkness which has been steadily advancing upon the light will for months, more than equally divide its empire, but not forever. In the continual struggle, victory will not be steadfast, for light will at least alternate with darkness, and that perpetually. I take some comfort on this great occasion from my knowledge of astronomy. I apply the example of the heavens to the earth; and to the science of the solar system liken the constellation of the intellectual. In men's minds, error can not establish an empire; but the truth is mighty, and will rise to dispute that empire, and occasionally prevail. The past blindness of Cincinnati to her most obvious interests and duties, will now give way for awhile to a season of intelligent vision, and of vigorous reform, to be followed, doubtless, at some future day by that periodical perverseness and wilfulness, which is the discipline of genius and virtue, and the hard condition of human improvement.



TO MY READERS.

It will be difficult for you to comprehend why my speech was interrupted; and yet when treating the most important parts of the subject there was a persistent effort, especially towards the close, to silence me by clamor. The Mayor, Mr. Bishop, is a very inefficient chairman, and made no attempt for one instant to keep order. Indeed, he began the disorder, and, probably, with premeditation; for when I was urging my audience, by the history of the Falls Canal, to make a decision in favor of an immediate Southern connection by railroad, he stopped me, and suggested that this was a railroad meeting, and my canal argument was irrelevant. It was his expectation to prevent me from proceeding, but he failed. I went on. When I came, however, to the general discussion of the value of the Southern country and its trade and intercourse, economically, socially and politically, there was an uproar which did not prevent my speaking, though I could not be heard. By a vote of the house taken

after the struggle had lasted half an hour, I was declared out of order and sat down. Of course this was a mere subterfuge. The next man who interrupted me after the Mayor, was a large speculator in the White Water Canal, and it was plain that interested persons were prompting others, and exerting themselves to suppress discussion. No one else offered to speak on behalf of the city to which three or four propositions, as you have seen, were made; and I had patiently heard them all, had duly reflected, and had no doubt of what ought to be done. I, therefore, as I gave notice previously, took the floor to advocate the *Knoxville route*. That route is a fixed fact—there is none other that the citizens of Cincinnati will approve, let ever so many committees report to the contrary. The argument is unanswerable in its favor; and no attempt will be made to answer it, and it is in vain now to try and put the people to sleep; one good effect of the scene in the *Merchants' Exchange* has been to determine the public mind on the Knoxville route absolutely. The reason I was not fully heard was that I could not be answered; and, also, that I had to show up the incompetency of public officers now holding and seeking trusts. In addition, it is the vulgar habit of a Cincinnati audience, composed exclusively of men, to be content with ignorance or half knowledge, and furious with one who teaches them, no matter how competent to the task. The sooner that habit is changed, the more prompt will be the rise of our reputation in the country. It is part and parcel of the caucus system by which all intellectual hierarchy is abolished among us; and the noise makers and impertinents put forward instead of backward, as should be done in public assemblies. Government is the reflection of society, like a face in the glass, and until that reform, we can only expect to find what we see at Cincinnati, a great city disorganised and demoralised in every part, and in none more so than in its officers. It has followed from our abject humiliation under the caucus, that no discussion is allowed of the gravest interests, and no accountability is enforced on servants. Cincinnati has gone under the yoke of a few strangers to the mortification of her old citizens, and to the amazement of every body. The Mayor is a stranger, the Police Judge another, the Treasurer another, that first officer of a city, the Auditor, is another, and so is the Solicitor. I should not object to have one office occasionally filled in that manner, but to have *all* thrown away, is proof of a fatal apathy, and also of the pres-

ence among us of some sinister but irresistible influence hostile to the fair play or even the existence of self-government. It will be wise to have not only a change of masters, but a change of system. I call upon my fellow citizens to remember the scene at the Exchange, especially the conduct of the Chairman, and of Councilman Eggleston, who asserted several times positively that my statement that the city railroad mortgages had been taken and recorded in the counties was incorrect, and did not retract after I had proved it by Mr. Graham ; and of ex-Councilman Keck, who called order and insisted that I was not speaking to the amendment ! I trust that I have due compassion for empty men, and know that it is as hard for them to stand upright as empty bags ; but I want them either to be filled or to collapse, and not to parade publicly their lack of contents. There were at the meeting a set of shallow jacks, and wicker johns and demijohns with wide waistbands and small hats, the gurgle of whose throats has always disturbed the calm reasoning and sober judgment of mankind, as their coarser brethren fill the jails and infirmaries. Let my fellow citizens ask themselves what would be the value of a Court House if all the lawyers were silenced but those who agreed with the judge, and what is the worth of public meetings of citizens where opinions are not opposed and compared by the audience ?

On my own account, I shall ever dispute the ground with this attempt to suppress the reason by brute force. Let whosoever else make default, I will see to it, and have my friends on the spot and well instructed. I was entirely deserted by all the cultivated gentlemen there, and I shall hereafter depend on plainer people. Messrs. King and Flagg, after Eggleston had been driven to the wall by Mr. Graham, and when they were in favor of the Knoxville route, and knew that there was no use for any *bogus* committee of citizens to bother the engineers of the Union Railroad Company which will settle on the route, grouped myself and Eggleston together as for and against it, and procured the laying of the amendment on the table. Neither of them made any effort to bring the house to order. I suppose that is the way our thinkers have got into, because they must resort to either hypocrisy or humbug, for fear they will feel the rod of rudeness themselves. Indeed, it may be asserted that our men of ability stay away from public and primary meetings of every sort, because both of the bad manners, and absolute danger of such places. And yet this is called a demo-

cracy. It may be objected that I should have desisted when the house became outrageous. But I think not. I have had a great deal of such experience, as every leader will, and I intend to put myself against it a good deal more. I have settled my conduct long ago; and for the men affected, and the principles at stake, one ought never to surrender. During the clamor, I recalled the time, now twenty years and more, when Ellwood Fisher, myself and Wm. F. Johnson, in that very place, had stood against the town for *free trade*, and won the victory. It cost us nine weeks of adjourned debate, and many brutalities. I have seen Mr. Fisher hissed for fifteen minutes steadily, while he stood with folded arms. Seventeen years ago, I spoke for three hours and three quarters, against the re-charter of the Banks of Ohio in such an uproar that nobody heard a word; and yet I kept on, and finally succeeded in passing the anti-charter resolutions under which the banks fell. Now, those cases are different, but they vindicate my perseverance. In the free trade debate, we had a Chairman who could be depended on. He called order constantly, and requested us to stand fast, till it was restored. In the bank debate, (known as the Red Pepper Meeting,) we had a Chairman who could not be depended on, and who preferred that we should be silenced, and encouraged violence. I always thought Mr. Fisher right for stopping, and myself right in speaking, under the opposite circumstances. I appeal to every man to say whether when a few or many persons try to drown discussion, the Chair should not suppress them; and if he make no attempt to do it, and takes sides against the speaker, is he not disgracing the position? Mayors of cities, as such, have no business presiding over citizens; it is a servant set over his masters; but such is our total want of sense and our dull conformity, that the weakest creature that ever tried to rule a city, gives himself that air of superiority which obtrudes and interrupts, although it does not comprehend. I have seen now a very long procession of dignitaries of the time, rise, strut their brief hour upon the stage, and then disappear, and be entirely forgotten. I would give more to hear one man of talent and conviction advising his fellow citizens in a great matter, than to behold all the biped cothes-horses of Cincinnati, in their greatest state, from the flood to the conflagration.

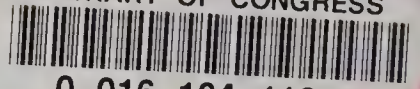




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